

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
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R 302302Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1655  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02178

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, CU, IN  
SUBJECT: NON-ALIGNED MEETING IN HAVANA: INDIAN DIPLOMAT'S  
VIEWS

SUMMARY: AS AN INDIAN DELEGATE TELLS IT, THE RECENTLY  
CONCLUDED HAVANA NON-ALIGNED MEETING HAD BEEN THE SCENE  
OF CONSIDERABLE DIVISIVENESS BETWEEN THE USUAL "RADICAL"  
PRESSURES AND ENERGETIC ATTEMPTS BY OTHERS, LED BY INDIA  
AND YUGOSLAVIA, TO MODERATE THEM. THE MOST CONTENTIOUS  
ISSUES HAD BEEN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SAHARA. ON BOTH OF  
THESE, THE CUBANS HAD LET OTHER "RADICALS" LEAD THE  
CHARGE. CUBA HAD MADE FORCEFUL INTERVENTIONS PRINCIPALLY  
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ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ISSUES BUT HAD, ON THE WHOLE,  
ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN A RELATIVELY MODERATE IMAGE. WHILE  
THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE INDEED REFLECTED SOME "RADICAL"  
SUCCESES IN FORCING THROUGH THEIR POINTS OF VIEW,  
OUTSIDERS SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO DRAW ANY CONCLUSIONS  
UNTIL AFTER THE BELGRADE NAM PLENARY IN JULY.  
END SUMMARY.

1. MISOFF MAY 25 DISCUSSED HAVANA CONFERENCE AT LENGTH WITH INDIAN MISOFF SIKRI WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM HAVANA. MRS. SIKRI MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. GENERAL: THE HAVANA MEETING HAD TAKEN PLACE ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE THE BELGRADE MEETING AND HAD NOT BEEN A PLENARY. IT WAS THUS DANGEROUS TO SAY, SIKRI SAID, THAT HAVANA "PROVED" OR "DISPROVED" ANYTHING REGARDING CURRENT DIRECTIONS AND INFLUENCES IN THE NAM. BETTER TO HOLD OFF THOSE KINDS OF QUESTIONS UNTIL AFTER BELGRADE. AT HAVANA THERE HAD BEEN NO MENTION OF THE HORN OF AFRICA IN FORMAL SESSION AND NO CRITICISM OF CUBA'S ROLE IN AFRICA. NONETHELESS, SHE SAID, THE "MODERATES" HAD STOOD UP FOR THEIR POSITIONS IN A NUMBER OF MAJOR INSTANCES, MAKING HAVANA ONE OF THE MOST CONTENTIOUS NAM MEETINGS EVER. CUBA SHOULD HAVE DRAWN THE LESSON AT HAVANA THAT THE FORCES OF MODERATION WITHIN THE NAM ARE STRONG AND ACTIVE.

B. CUBAN ACTIVITIES: SIKRI SAID THAT CUBA TRIED HARD TO PRESENT A MODERATE IMAGE IN MOST INSTANCES. ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICAN ISSUES, FOR EXAMPLE, CUBA HAD BEEN QUITE FLEXIBLE AND HAD BEEN HAPPY TO ACCEPT ALMOST COMPLETE REDRAFTING OF THEIR ORIGINAL SECTIONS ON AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST BY THE AFRICAN AND ARAB CAUCUSES  
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PRESENT, RESPECTIVELY. CUBA HAD NOT PRESSED HARD ON PUERTO RICO. NONETHELESS, CUBA HAD BEEN QUITE HARD LINE AND INTRANSIGENT IN OTHER INSTANCES. IN PARTICULAR, CUBA HAD FOUGHT HARD TO RETAIN ITS IDEOLOGICALLY-LOADED RHETORIC, ESPECIALLY IN THE OPENING SECTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE. CUBA HAD ALSO STRONGLY OPPOSED EFFORTS TO MODERATE SECTIONS ON DISARMAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. CUBA HAD HUNG TOUGH ON SOME LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES.

C. INDIAN ACTIVITIES AT HAVANA: SIKRI SAID THAT HER OWN AMBASSADOR (JAIPAL) HAD BEEN A MAJOR FORCE FOR MODERATION AT HAVANA AND HAD SOUGHT THROUGHOUT TO INTRODUCE MORE BALANCED LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WAS JAIPAL WHO HAD FORCED ACCEPTANCE OF THE TERM "GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT" IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE COMMUNIQUE. NONETHELESS, MODERATING EFFORTS FROM INDIA AND OTHERS HAD NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN A NUMBER OF OTHER INSTANCES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MARXIST RHETORIC IN PARAGRAPH 8, THE EXPLICIT CONDEMNATORY REFERENCES TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES, AND INCLUSION OF ZIONISM/RACISM.

D. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DETENTE: SIKRI SAID THAT INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN MODERATING THE ORIGINAL CUBAN DRAFT ON THIS ITEM AND IN ELIMINATING SOME OF THE SOVIET-INSPIRED POSITIONS. THE YUGOSLAVS HAD INSERTED THE HELPFUL PARAGRAPHS (L5 (15 AND 16) ON DETENTE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. VIETNAM, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD INSERTED THE UNHELPFUL PARAGRAPH 17 ON IMPERIALIST, ETC. OPPRESSION.

E. DISARMAMENT: SIKRI SAID THE ENTIRE SECTION ON DISARMAMENT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT IN NEW YORK BY THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU'S (NACB) WORKING GROUP

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R 302302Z MAY 78  
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ON DISARMAMENT. CUBAN AMEMDMENTS TO TOUGHEN THIS SECTION HAD BEEN DEFEATED AT HAVANA. THE NACB HAD CONSIDERED THE VIETNAM-PROPOSED PARAGRAPH 25 ON FOREIGN MILITARY BASES TO BE SO SURPRISINGLY MODERATE THAT IT HAD GONE THROUGH WITHOUT CHANGE.

F. UTILIZATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL

PURPOSES: THIS SECTION HAD BEEN WRITTEN BY INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND INDONESIA IN HAVANA. THE ONLY NEW ELEMENT REGARDING IT, CONTINUED SIKRI, WAS THAT IT HAD BEEN MOVED UP INTO THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE.

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G. MIDDLE EAST: SIKRI SAID THAT THE MIDDLE EAST SECTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE WAS MORE EXTREME THAN COLOMBO AND MORE EXTREME BY FAR THAN DELHI. THE MAIN REASON FOR THIS, SIKRI SAID, WAS THAT ARAB REPRESENTATION IN THE NACB WAS SOLIDLY STACKED IN FAVOR OF THE RADICALS (PLO, IRAQ, SYRIA AND ALGERIA). SUDAN HAD BEEN NO MATCH FOR THIS COMBINATION AND EGYPT HAD BEEN PRESENT ONLY AS AN OBSERVER. MOREOVER, THE "RADICALS" HAD COME TO HAVANA EXTREMELY WELL COORDINATED AMONGST THEMSELVES AND EXTREMELY WELL PREPARED. SIKRI ALSO ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ONE REASON FOR THE HARSH LANGUAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST WAS THAT NACB MEMBERS IN GENERAL BELIEVED THAT CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WERE NOW SUCH THAT TOUGHER MEASURES WERE NEEDED. SHE MENTIONED PRESENT "INTRANSIGENT" ISRAELI POLICY IN REGARD TO THE SADAT INITIATIVE AND TO SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORY. IN SHORT, THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE OVERALL SENTIMENT AT HAVANA FOR A TOUGH SECTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST. "MODERATES" HAD BEEN ABLE TO TONE DOWN SOME OF THE WILDER PLO, ETC., LANGUAGE BUT THE FINAL RESULT, SIKRI SAID, WAS STILL ONE OF THE MOST EXTREME NAM STATEMENTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST EVER. THE REAL DRAMA ON THE MIDDLE EAST ITEM IN HAVANA, SHE CONTINUED, HAD BEEN THE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES AIRD BETWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA, WITH THE EGYPTIANS RECEIVING THE WORST OF IT.

H. WESTERN SAHARA: SIKRI SAID THAT SO MUCH TIME HAD BEEN SPENT IN HAVANA ON THE SAHARA QUESTION THAT SOME DELEGATES TERMED HAVANA "AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE NAM ON SAHARA". MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA HAD BEGUN THE FIREWORKS BY PROPOSING THE DELETION OF THE ENTIRE ITEM. ALGERIA, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD WANTED A MUCH STRONGER VERSION THAN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE DRAFTED BY THE CUBANS. A HOT DEBATE ON THE CONFLICTING SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF

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MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA ON ONE HAD AND ALGERIA ON THE OTHER HAD ERUPTED FIVE OR SIX TIMES DURING THE COURSE OF THE MEETING. IN THE END THE ALGERIANS HAD COME AWAY

BETTER OFF.

I. AFRICA: SIKRI NOTED THAT THE ENTIRE AFRICA SECTION HAD BEEN REDRAFTED IN HAVANA BY THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE NACB AND IT HAD BEEN ACCEPTED WITH LITTLE DEBATE. THERE HAD BEEN NO MENTION OF THE WESTERN FIVE INITIATIVE IN NAMIBIA BECAUSE "THE WAY THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT WAS GOING, THE FRONTLINE STATES PRESENT THOUGHT BETTER TO LEAVE IT OUT". SOME MEMBERS ALSO HAD BEEN PERSUADED BY THE SWAPO COUNSEL THAT ANY MENTION OF THE WESTERN FIVE EFFORT AT HAVANA MIGHT WEAKEN SUPPORT FOR SWAPO PRINCIPLES.

J. MAYOTTE: SIKRI MENTIONED MAYOTTE AS AN EXAMPLE OF A CASE WHERE THE CUBANS WILLINGLY ALLOWED THEIR ORIGINAL MODERATE LANGUAGE TO BE STRENGTHENED BY A LIKE-MINDED STATE, IN THIS CASE ALGERIA.

K. KOREA: SIKRI SAID THAT THE RESULTANT LANGUAGE ON KOREA HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO HAVANA BY THE NORTH KOREAN OBSERVER DELEGATION AND OFFICIALLY PROPOSED BY THE SYRIANS. INDIA HAD TRIED AND FAILED TO MODERATE THE NORTH KOREAN LANGUAGE.

L. INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE: SIKRI CONSIDERED THE LANGUAGE OF THIS SECTION TO BE THE "NORMAL UN FORMULATION". SHE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOMETHING OF A HASSLE WHEN THE CUBANS HAD OBJECTED TO THE TERM "GREAT POWER RIVALRY". THE CUBANS HAD WANTED ONLY THE U.S. TO BE SINGLED OUT BUT THEIR POSITION HAD BEEN

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R 302302Z MAY 78  
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BEATEN BACK IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

M. ECONOMICS: SIKRI NOTED THAT ONLY A FEW COUNTRIES PRESENT HAD BEEN INTERESTED IN THE ECONOMIC SECTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE. THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, LED BY INDIA, YUGO-SLAVIA, GUYANA, SRI LANKA AND NIGERIA, HAD MORE OR LESS COMPLETELY REDRAFTED THE ORIGINAL CUBAN LANGUAGE. THERE HAD NOT BEEN MUCH DISAGREEMENT AT ANY POINT.

N. ORGANIZATIONAL: SIKRI SAID THAT THE CUBANS HAD DONE AN EXTREMELY ABLE JOB OF PREPARING FOR THE CONFERENCE AND RUNNING IT. THEY HAD BEEN WELL AWARE THAT OTHER DELEGATIONS WOULD VIEW THIS MEETING AS A TEST RUN FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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HAVANA SUMMIT. AS AT OTHER NAM MEETINGS, SHE SAID, THE HAVANA MEETING HAD OPERATED WITH TWO SUBSTANTIVE COMMITTEES, ONE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND ONE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE (WHICH WAS BY FAR THE MOST ACTIVE OF THE TWO IN HAVANA) HAD MET INITIALLY ON AN ITEM TO PROBE THE AMOUNT OF CONSENSUS. IF THERE WAS CONSENSUS ON SOME PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR THE ITEM THEN THE ITEM HAD BEEN REFERRED DIRECT TO PLENARY. IF THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS OR IF THERE WAS CONSENSUS WITH ROUGH EDGES, THEN THE ITEM HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFTING GROUP. THE WORK OF THE DRAFTING GROUP THEN WENT BACK THROUGH THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR FURTHER DEBATE AND APPROVAL BEFORE BEING RUBBER-STAMPED BY THE PLENARY. SIKRI EMPHASIZED THAT IN MOST CASES THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S DRAFTING GROUP HAD NOT WORKED FROM SCRATCH BUT FROM A VARIETY OF DRAFTS AND PAPERS SUBMITTED BY DELEGATIONS AND REGIONAL CAUCUSES, INCLUDING THE ORIGINAL CUBAN DRAFT AND EARLIER NAM AND UNGA DOCUMENTS. SHE SAID THAT THE BELGRADE PLENARY WOULD NOT BE BOUND BY THE HAVANA COMMUNIQUE AND WOULD DRAFT ITS OWN COMMUNIQUE OR DECLARATION FROM SCRATCH. SIKRI SAID THAT THE ONLY REAL PROCEDURAL DISPUTE DURING THE HAVANA MEETING WAS THE QUESTION OF THE RIGHTS OF CONFERENCE OBSERVERS TO SPEAK. AT HAVANA, OBSERVERS HAD BEEN GIVEN THESE PRIVILEGES "MORE THAN EVER BEFORE".

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## Message Attributes

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